

Message Text

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TAGS: MASS, PO

SUBJECT: FY 1974-79 SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

GUIDANCE FOR PORTUGAL: ASSESSMENT BY CHIEF
OF MISSION

REFS: (A) STATE 024348 (B) STATE 024960 (C) LISBON 0669

1. SUMMARY: US SECURITY ASSISTANCE DIRECTLY FURTHERS OUR STATED SECURITY ASSISTANCE OBJECTIVES AND CONTRIBUTES TO A CLIMATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS IN WHICH OTHER US GOALS CAN BE EFFECTIVELY PURSUED. OUR POLICIES ARE LIMITED BY US- PORTUGUESE DIFFERENCES OVER PORTUGAL' S RETENTION OF HER AFRICAN TERRITORIES, AND THE RESULTING EMBARGO ON AID TO EITHER PORTUGAL OR THE AFRICAN INSURGENTS. GIVEN THE PROSPECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE AZORES IN 1974, WE RECOMMEND AGAINST BASIC CHANGES IN OUR PLANNED 1974 PROGRAM. END SUMMARY

2. US SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL, ALTHOUGH CONSTRAINED BY DIFFERENCES WITH GOP ON ITS POLICY IN AFRICA, SEEKS TO ADVANCE THE OVERALL US OBJECTIVE OF FOSTERING A CLIMATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS IN WHICH OTHER PURPOSES (SUCH AS THE RETENTION OF OUR BASE IN THE AZORES) CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. US SECURITY ASSISTANCE OBJECTIVES ARE STATED IN GENERAL TERMS IN REF (B). THE PROGRAMS PLANNED FOR FY-1974 AND
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RECOMMENDED FOR FY 1975-79 CLEARLY SUPPORT THOSE OBJECTIVES. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE 1974-79 PROGRAMS WILL PROVIDE CONTINUED ACCESS BY OUR MILITARY TO THE GOP MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, CONTRIBUTING THEREBY TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE OBJECTIVES.

3. THE EXISTING US SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IS ABOUT 50/50 TRAINING AND MATERIEL, WITH CONCENTRATION ON THE PORTUGUESE NAVY AND AIR FORCE OVER THE ARMY (WHICH IS PRINCIPALLY INVOLVED IN AFRICA). MATERIEL SUPPLIED IS EITHER NON- CONTROVERSIAL OR RESTRICTED TO THE NATO AREA. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE IS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS: THE " PAY- OFF" -- IN TERMS OF SYMPATHY FOR UNITED STATES AND NATO POLICIES -- COMES LATER, AND IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MEASURE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT OUR PROGRAM OF \$900,000 IS LESS THAN 0.2 PERCENT OF PORTUGAL' S TOTAL MILITARY BUDGET, AND WE SHOULD ACCORDINGLY NOT OVERESTIMATE THE INFLUENCE OF SUCH A MINIMAL PROGRAM ON PORTUGUESE THINKING. STILL, US TRAINING HAS A LASTING INFLUENCE ON MANY MEMBERS OF PORTUGUESE MILITARY.

4. FURTHERMORE, EVEN THOUGH VIRTUALLY TOKEN IN NATURE FROM THE PORTUGUESE POINT OF VIEW, THE MERE EXISTENCE OF A US MILITARY AID PROGRAM IN PORTUGAL IS PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPORTANT TO THE PORTUGUESE: IT IS TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT, DESPITE THEIR ALMOST UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION THEY ENCOUNTER IN THE WORLD FOR THEIR AFRICAN POLICIES AND THEIR AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM, THEY STILL ENJOY FRIENDLY RELATIONS EVEN IN THE SENSITIVE MILITARY FIELD WITH THE LEADER OF THE WESTERN WORLD. WERE THEIR MILITARY AID LINK WITH THE US TO BE SEVERED, THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT WOULD BE BITTER AND THEIR REACTION, WHILE UNPREDICTABLE, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE DESIGNED TO HURT THE US IN AS SENSITIVE AN AREA AS THAT IN WHICH THEY WERE HURT BY US.

5. WHILE GERMANY HAS A MILITARY MISSION IN PORTUGAL, IT IS SUBSTANTIALLY INVOLVED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF THE FRG' S NEARLY MOTHBALLED AIR BASE AT BEJA. THE AMOUNT
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OF FRG MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS NOT KNOWN, BUT IS BELIEVED TO CONSIST PRINCIPALLY OF TRAINING, AND TO BE VERY MODEST IN SIZE. NO OTHER COUNTRIES PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE UK, FRANCE, BRAZIL AND SPAIN PROVIDE LIMITED TRAINING.

6. US TRAINING OF GOP MILITARY HAS COME UNDER SOME

SCRUTINY BY CRITICS, WHO POINT OUT A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN ANY TRAINING OF GOP MILITARY PERSONNEL AND OUR POLICY OF DENYING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE WARRINGPARTIES IN PORTUGAL' S AFRICAN TERRITORIES. WHILE WE CAN AND DO RESTRICT THE LOCATION OF MATERIEL PROVIDED, WE CANNOT OF COURSE LIMIT GOP' S RIGHT TO ASSIGN US- TRAINED MEN TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA. GIVEN THE LIMITATIONS ON THE MATERIEL PORTION OF OUR PROGRAM, TRAINING IS OUR MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF ACCOMPLISHING OUR OBJECTIVES, AS IT PROVIDES JUST THE SORT OF FACE- TO- FACE AMERICAN- PORTUGUESE CONTACT WE SEEK AS A BASIS FOR EXERTING A FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON GOP MILITARY.

7. OUR PRESENT " LEASE" IN THE AZORES EXPIRES IN FEBRUARY 1974, AND NEGOTIATION ON RENEWAL CAN OPEN AS EARLY AS AUGUST 1973. WITH THIS NEGOTIATION IN MIND, I RECOMMEND AGAINST ANY BASIC CHANGES THIS YEAR IN OUR PLANNED SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR 1974. HOWEVER, FOR THE FUTURE PLANNING COULD USEFULLY GO FORWARD TO STREAMLINE RESIDUAL MAAG FUNCTIONS IN AN EXPANDED MILITARY AFFAIRS SECTION OF THE EMBASSY. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE CONSIDERATIONS OUTLINED IN REF (C) REMAIN VALID.
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